

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 153533 TOSEC 070082  
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UNCLAS STATE 153533 TOSEC 070082

FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL BY J.  
RESTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 16, HEADED "THE WRONG QUESTION."

2. WASHINGTON, JUNE 15--THIS CITY IS NOW ENGAGED IN A  
MOST PECULIAR FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE--NOT ABOUT WHETHER  
THE NATION'S STRATEGIC ARMS POLICY, ITS AFRICAN POLICY  
AND ITS MIDDLE EASTERN AND CHINESE POLICIES ARE RIGHT  
OR WRONG, BUT ABOUT WHETHER PRESIDENT CARTER OR FIDEL  
CASTRO IS TELLING THE TRUTH ON THE INVASION OF ZAIRE  
AND ABOUT WHETHER SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE OR ZBIGNIEW  
BRZEZINSKI IS UP OR DOWN AS THE PRINCIPAL FOREIGN POLICY  
ADVISER TO PRESIDENT CARTER.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STATE 153533 TOSEC 070082

3. "THIS TELLS US SOMETHING ABOUT THE LEVEL OF OUR  
PUBLIC DISCOURSE," HENRY KISSINGER REMARKED TO THE NEW  
YORK TIMES TODAY. "ALL THE EVIDENCE IS ON THE PRESI-  
DENT'S SIDE, YET HERE WE ARE ENGAGED IN A PUBLIC ARGU-  
MENT QUESTIONING THE HONOR OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNI-  
TED STATES."

4. WASHINGTON HAS ALWAYS HAD A TENDENCY TO PERSONALIZE FOREIGN POLICY, BLAME ITS TROUBLES, REAL OR IMAGINED, ON CONFLICTING ADVICE BY THE PRESIDENT'S PRINCIPAL ADVISERS, AND ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF WOBBLING INCONSISTENTLY BETWEEN THE HARD-LINERS AND THE MODERATES. BUT SELDOM TO SUCH SILLY EXTREMES AS NOW.

5. OF COURSE THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISERS AND ALWAYS HAVE BEEN SINCE THE DAYS OF MADISON AND JEFFERSON. FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT THOUGHT THE WHOLE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS DEPENDED ON THE CLASH OF CONFLICTING IDEAS, AND HE NOT ONLY INVITED BUT PROVOKED CONTROVERSY WITHIN HIS CABINET.

6. MR. VANCE AND MR. BRZEZINSKI DO DIFFER ON THEIR APPROACHES TO THE FOREIGN PROBLEMS OF THE NATION, BECAUSE THEY ARE DIFFERENT MEN, WITH DIFFERENT BACK- GROUND, INTELLECTS AND PERSONALITIES. MR. VANCE IS A CAREFUL AND EXPERIENCED LAWYER, WITH A WIDE VISION OF THE WORLD, BUT A TENDENCY TO HANDLE ONE CASE AT A TIME.

7. MR. BRZEZINSKI IS A HISTORIAN AND A TEACHER, WHO IS NOT INDIFFERENT TO DIPLOMATIC TACTICS, BUT TENDS TO THINK IN WIDER CONCEPTS, AND WANTS TO FIT EACH DAY-TO- DAY TACTICAL DECISION INTO A WIDER STRATEGY FOR THE FUTURE.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 153533 TOSEC 070082

8. THERE ARE OTHER DIFFERENCES, SOME OF THEM MORE GEO- GRAPHICAL THAN PHILOSOPHICAL. MR. BRZEZINSKI IS USUALLY HERE IN HIS OFFICE IN THE WHITE HOUSE NEXT TO THE PRESI- DENT, WHILE MR. VANCE IS USUALLY ALOFT, SOMEWHERE BETWEEN CONTINENTS.

9. BY OFFICIAL COUNT, AN AVERAGE OF 360 PAGES OF MEMO- RANDA A DAY ARE ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT BY HIS DEPART- MENTS AND AGENCIES ON FOREIGN, INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY MATTERS. THESE COME TO MR. BRZEZINSKI AS THE PRESIDENT'S ASSISTANT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, WHO CUTS THEM DOWN TO ABOUT 80 PAGES THAT IN HIS JUDGMENT HAVE TO GO TO THE PRESIDENT. OBVIOUSLY HIS CUTS DO NOT AMUSE THE ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

10. THE SURPRISING THING IS NOT THAT THERE IS SOME CON- Flict WITH MR. BRZEZINSKI, MONITORING THE FLOW OF INFOR- MATION FROM STATE, DEFENSE AND THE C.I.A. TO THE PRESI- DENT, BUT THAT THERE IS SO LITTLE. MR. BRZEZINSKI MEETS ONCE A WEEK WITH THE SECRETARIES OF STATE AND DEFENSE, WHENEVER SECRETARY VANCE IS IN TOWN, TO GO OVER THEIR

COMMON PROBLEMS, AND DESPITE THE GOSSIP TO THE CONTRARY,

THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED A TRUSTING RELATIONSHIP WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WITH THE PRESIDENT THAT IS OBVIOUSLY NOT COMPLETE BUT REMARKABLY GOOD.

11. THERE HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN TWO MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MR. VANCE AND R. BRZEZINSKI, BUT DIFFERENCES OF DEGREE AND TIMING RATHER THAN PRINCIPLE. MR. BRZEZINSKI WAS MORE EAGER THAN MR. VANCE AND ANDREW YOUNG, PRESIDENT CARTER'S FRIEND AND AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, TO MAKE A BIG ISSUE OUT OF THE SOVIET-CUBAN MILITARY INTRUSION INTO AFRICA. AND MR. VANCE ORIGINALLY OPPOSED, THOUGH HE LATER AP-  
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PAGE 04 STATE 153533 TOSEC 070082

PROVED, MR. BRZEZINSKI'S MISSION TO PEKING.

12. BUT IN SPITE OF THIS, IF THE INFORMATION HERE IS CORRECT, THERE IS NO MAJOR "POWER STRUGGLE" OR "PERSONAL ANTAGONISM" WITHIN THIS ADMINISTRATION ON THE MAJOR LINES OF FOREIGN POLICY.

13. DIFFERENCES OF TACTICS, EMPHASIS, AND TIMING, YES--AND THESE ARE IMPORTANT--BUT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MR. VANCE AND MR. BRZEZINSKI SEEM MILD COMPARED TO THE DIFFERENCES IN THE PAST.

14. THESE PRESENT DISPUTES WITHIN THE CABINET, AND ESPECIALLY BETWEEN THE CABINET AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL ARE NOT ONLY INEVITABLE BUT MAYBE HEALTHY. IF WE HAD AGREEMENT WITHIN THE CABINET AND "CONSISTENCY" OF POLICY IN A SHIFTING AND AMBIGUOUS WORLD, CHANCES ARE THAT THINGS MIGHT BE EVEN WORSE THAN THEY ARE NOW.

15. SO THERE IS DISAGREEMENT ABOUT WHO LIED ON THE CUBANS IN ZAIRE, AND WHO'S AHEAD BETWEEN MR. VANCE AND MR. BRZEZINSKI, BUT ON THE MAIN QUESTIONS OF ARMS CONTROL, EUROPE, THE SOVIET UNION, THE MIDDLE EAST, CHINA AND JAPAN, THERE IS A REMARKABLE DEGREE OF UNITY HERE. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION MAY BE CONFUSED ABOUT ITS PRIORITIES AND ITS POLICIES, BUT IT IS NOT CONFUSED ABOUT MR. CASTRO, OR DIVIDED BY MR. VANCE AND MR. BRZEZINSKI.

16. AND THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT ONE FINAL THING: AS USUAL, MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AND THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF ARE TRYING TO PERSUADE THE PRESIDENT TO THEIR WAYS OF  
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PAGE 05 STATE 153533 TOSEC 070082

THINKING, BUT NOBODY IS IN DOUBT HERE ON THE CENTRAL  
POINT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER, THOUGH HE MAY VEER FROM ONE  
SIDE TO ANOTHER, IS STILL CLEARLY IN CHARGE. NEWSOM

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